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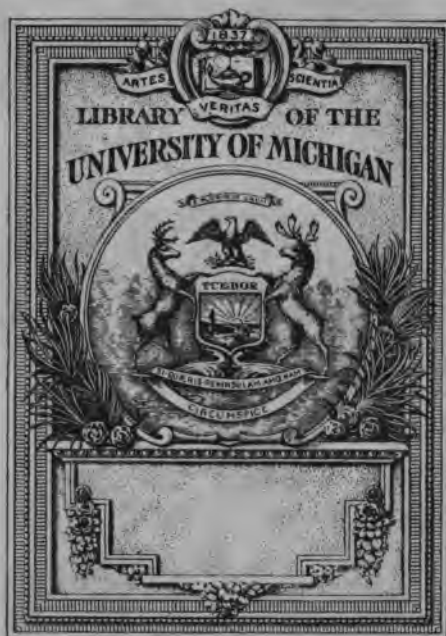
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A SURVEY
OF
SCOTTISH LITERATURE
IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY
(WITH SOME REFERENCE TO THE
EIGHTEENTH)

By
JAMES MAIN DIXON
M.A. (St. Andrews), F.R.S. (Edin.)

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A SURVEY OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

INFLUENCES BEARING UPON LITERARY PRODUCTION.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, owing to various causes, the Scottish capital might perhaps be termed the focus of literature in the British isles. The isolation of the Anglican Church in Europe, its antagonism on the one hand to Roman Catholicism, and, on the other hand, to non-episcopal reformed churches, had a chilling effect on literature. With all his greatness, Samuel Johnson was singularly contracted in his principles of judgment, and prejudiced in his outlook. Moreover, the English universities were so situated as to be out of the main current of the nation, being at a distance from the capital, and located in suburban towns. The very fact that politics in English life exercised so complete a sway was deadening to literature, for excessive devotion to politics tends immediately to localism and provincialism.

But in the northern capital, which, as the home of a separate national church assembly and organization and of a separate national law system, had never ceased to continue the high literary traditions of the Scotland of the Stuarts, politics had ceased to be a main issue. The statesman, Viscount Melville, whose statue on a high pillar decorates one of the most elegant squares in the capital, and who gives his name to other important streets, was all powerful, and carried in his pocket the disposal of all political preferment. The thoughts of Scotchmen at this period did not run on politics in any local sense.

Aspiring young men were given a career by being drafted abroad to India and other dependencies of the Crown, whence

they usually returned after middle age with fortunes, to spend the remainder of their lives at home. This element has had quite a bearing on Scotch social and literary life. Not to mention others, Laurence Oliphant, diplomatist and writer, and Arthur J. Balfour, statesman and author, come of this "nabob" strain.

There were, then, in the year 1809 four distinct elements in Scotch life, ready to influence thought, society, and literary production :

(1) The old aristocratic, Jacobite stock, associated with Catholic ideals. To it we owe the survival of ballad literature. The Baroness Nairne was an excellent type of the Jacobite lady, and Sir Walter Scott's sympathies lay wholly with this stock. It represented the hereditary principle in life, the fighting national spirit, and the race type.

(2) The rationalizing clergy and legal fraternity, including university professors and government officials. They were keenly alive to French influences. Dr. William Robertson, Adam Smith, Dugald Stewart, Dr. Thomas Brown, and, generally, the founders in 1802 of *The Edinburgh Review* belonged to this class. They prided themselves on their cosmopolitanism, and freedom from cant and prejudice.

(3) The militant Evangelical clergy, of the Andrew Thomson type, including some sturdy seceders, like Thomas McCrie and John Jamieson.

(4) The Highland Celtic population, which, until 1745, was virtually outside the pale of Edinburgh influence, and became specifically Protestant only in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Had Burns lived, he would have drifted into association with the second group, among whom he counted most of his friends. As it was, the founding of a professorship of agriculture at Edinburgh was mooted, and his name was mentioned for the post. He can hardly be said to have represented a current tendency; and his imitators have been a remarkably feeble set. He rather summed up previous forces; but he was antagonistic to those mentioned under groups 3 and 4.

Several regiments in the Peninsular army of Wellington were officered by Highlanders who preferred to speak Celtic at mess. This marks the return of Celtic ideals into the main

national life. These army officers, returning to their early homes, exercised a civilizing and unifying influence. Before the Forty-five, the Celtic connection between Scotland and Ireland was unbroken, but thereafter the Scotch and Celtic Gaels became unintelligible to one another. Scottish Celtic literature, as independent of Irish, begins with the close of the eighteenth century. In 1809 was published P. Turner's enlarged edition of Ronald MacDonald's *Collection of Gaelic Poems* (1776). With the breaking up of the clan system after 1745, a new school, dealing with love and nature, sprang up, and thrust aside the old personal poetry of the bards. All Gaelic verse depends far more on its form than on its matter; and the melody dominates the logic. It is interesting to note how this new element will affect literary forms, since the measures preferred by the Celts differ radically from those appealing to Saxon ears.

The century therefore opened with an almost complete assimilation of the people of the Northwest, who were now ready to take their place with the Lowlanders in the universities, the church councils, the government services, and elsewhere. The universities had begun to receive a steady influx of Highland students.

Only two of the universities remained wholly Scottish in their student constituency. Glasgow has ever been a university for the Protestant North of Ireland. Francis Hutcheson, the founder of the Scottish school of philosophy, Lord Kelvin, James Bryce, the historian and statesman—among many others—may be mentioned as of North of Ireland stock. Wales and Northwest England also sent a regular contingent of students to Glasgow. Prof. Henry Jones, for instance, successor to Edward Caird in the chair of Moral Philosophy, is a Welshman, who went northward to the Clyde for his higher education.

Edinburgh began the century as a cosmopolitan city educationally, and has continued to be such, especially in her medical schools. Aberdeen and St. Andrews, however, have remained Scottish. As graduate schools, none of them have developed. A close connection was set up between Glasgow and Oxford by the Snell Exhibitions which drafted her best students, after graduation, to the banks of the Isis, and made Balliol College virtually a graduate school for the West of

Scotland. Adam Smith was a Snell Exhibitioner (though he felt unhappy and out of place in Oxford); and the distinguished Scotchmen who have followed him and gained by the change are very numerous: Sir William Hamilton, Archbishop Tait of Canterbury, John Campbell Shairp, Lord President Inglis, John Nichol, George Douglas Brown, author of *The House with the Green Shutters*, and others.

Similar scholarships were founded at Edinburgh University, and also at St. Andrews and Aberdeen, which drafted graduates to Oxford and Cambridge. The professorate at the different universities has been largely made up of men who were thus doubly trained. The connection between Aberdeen and Cambridge is close, Aberdeen for a long time having a particularly efficient professor of mathematics, who prepared a succession of young Aberdonians for success in the South.

The country practically ceased to educate her aristocracy, who went south to Eton, Harrow, and the English public schools, and thence to Cambridge and Oxford. The standard of living at the national universities was thus kept low, and they became thoroughly democratic. While giving up her aristocracy, however, to England to educate, she received in return English Dissenters, like Thomas Spencer Baynes, who were debarred from their own universities by the Test Act. This contingent gave a valuable thinking element to the universities.

The Duke of Argyle, father of the present Duke and author of the *Reign of Law* and other works—whose autobiography has just been published (1906)—was a student at Edinburgh University, early in the forties. In the seventies, under his auspices as Chancellor, a hall was founded at St. Andrews University after the model of the Oxford colleges, and he sent some of his sons to study there; as did the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Earl of Southesk, and other noblemen. The institution was short-lived, but in a literary way has not been unproductive. Andrew Lang was a resident—the most prolific pen among modern Scottish littérateurs. Lord Archibald Campbell, another St. Andrews Hall student, established the “Argyleshire Series,” to which we owe several excellent books, notably J. G. Campbell’s *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*.

Close as has been the relation between the universities and literature, it has been of an amateurish and not systematic kind. Professors of Law and Logic, of the Latin and Greek Classics, and of Theology have often devoted their chief labors to literary production. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres at Edinburgh University. It was founded in 1762, and W. E. Aytoun, author of the inimitable *Bon Gaultier Ballads*, and of *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, became its occupant in 1845. He was followed by David Masson, a rugged writer and thinker of the Carlyle type, but not a stylist; and Masson was followed in 1895 by George Saintsbury, who has given us perhaps the best compendium of English literature available for college purposes, besides authoritative work in French literature. His assistant, G. Gregory Smith, who received his later training at Oxford, is the most systematically equipped teacher of the subject at present in the Scottish universities. He has done much for the Scottish Text Society, founded in 1882, as general editor, and has written *The Days of James IV.*, and *Specimens from Middle Scots*, the first compendium of the kind for college use, on the basis of Morris's *Selections from Early English Writers*.

Glasgow University established a chair of English Literature in 1862, and its first occupant was John Nichol, a man of literary gifts and judgment, himself an author. He contributed the Byron volume to the "English Men of Letters" series, and the introductory sketch of Burns in the fine Scott Douglas edition of the poet (Edinburgh, Paterson, 1896). He was succeeded by A. C. Bradley, late Professor of Poetry at Oxford, who resigned in 1900 after two years' service; and Mr. Bradley's place was taken by the distinguished literary critic, Walter Raleigh,* an Edinburgh-Oxford man, for several years Professor in University College, Liverpool. His *Milton*, *Wordsworth*, and *Stevenson* are in the best traditions of the Scottish literary school of the beginning of the nineteenth century. He has been succeeded by William Macneile Dixon, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, trained under Edward Dowden.

* Walter Raleigh left for Oxford in 1904, to become Professor of English Literature and Language there; and in 1906, A. C. Bradley was succeeded in the chair of Poetry at Oxford by John W. Mackail, an Ayrshire student, and a graduate of Edinburgh and Oxford universities.

Rhetoric is still attached to the chair of Logic at Glasgow, and this was no dead letter in John Veitch's time.

There was no separate chair of English Literature at St. Andrews University until the very close of the century, although Dundee University College, founded in 1887, and affiliated to St. Andrews University in 1897, had and has a separate chair. Under Professors Spalding and Baynes, however, English literature did not suffer neglect. The first occupant of the separate chair, Rev. A. Lawson, D.D., appointed in 1897, has since edited *The Poems of Alexander Hume* for the Scottish Text Society. William Knight, who occupied the chair of Moral Philosophy from 1877 to 1902, has contributed much to current literature, notably by his *Works of William Wordsworth and Dorothy Wordsworth*, 12 vols. (1896-7).

As Principal of the United College, St. Andrews University, a post which he held along with the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford, John Campbell Shairp did much for literary criticism, and something in the line of literary production. John Tulloch, Principal of St. Mary's College, was also rather a literary man than a theologian. He wrote *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in the XVIIth Century*, and a biography of Pascal.

W. A. Craigie, a St. Andrews man, now associated with Dr. J. A. H. Murray and Henry Bradley in the editing of the great Oxford Dictionary, has published a *Primer of Burns*, which supplies some new and useful philological material. He has given, through the *Scottish Review*, several timely articles on Scandinavian topics, thus returning to a field that lay open before John Jamieson at the beginning of last century, when he was working at his dictionary.

Aberdeen University has contributed in the nineteenth century less than any other of the Scottish universities to the department of English literature. In Burns literature, for example, where Edinburgh has produced contributions by Carlyle, J. G. Lockhart (also a Glasgow University man), Alexander Smith, R. L. Stevenson, Scott Douglas, and others; where Glasgow has given us the critical writings of Nichol, as well as the famous *Burns Concordance*; where St. Andrews has given us Shairp's volume in the "English Men of Letters"

series, W. A. Craigie's *Primer*, and T. F. Henderson's excellent work in the Centenary Edition; Aberdeen can claim nothing, except that J. Stuart Blackie, an Aberdeen man who became an Edinburgh professor, wrote the life of *Robert Burns* in the "Great Writers" series. English Literature remained attached to Logic at the University until 1894, when the Chalmers chair was founded. Professor William Minto (ob. 1893) was author of two compendiums of literature, *Manual of English Prose Literature* (1872) and *Characteristics of English Poets*, neither of them contributions to Scottish literary criticism. His *Literature in the Georgian Era* appeared posthumously.* Yet he preferred to keep the chair of Logic at the time of the division of the chairs.

The century opened, then, with professors of English Literature and lecturers at each of the four universities, and excellent immediate prospects at both Glasgow and Edinburgh; but much need of systematic philological work to strengthen the *belles-lettres*. For instance, the new material in the Henley and Henderson *Poetry of Robert Burns*, showing how Scotland received poetical forms from France and carried them on while they were suffered to die out in England, should have come direct from the universities. In etymology there is to-day no strong school in any of the four.

If we now consider literary productions, topographically, we find that the country has various districts which have never failed, from generation to generation, to produce able men. From "True Thomas" onward, the vale of Tweed has sent forth its quota; and Edinburgh University and city have drawn them thither. Next come the men of Galloway and the vale of Nith, large of stature, with a strong Celtic race element in them, Brythonic and not Goidhelic. They have also tended Edinburgh-ward. The vale of Clyde—Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, Dumbartonshire—is the old home of the Strathclyde Celts, in touch by water with the Gaels of Argyleshire; and Glasgow is their natural metropolis. And yet the ancient burgh of Paisley near by has not been effaced, but has ever kept

*The above remarks on Aberdeen University should perhaps be qualified. Spalding, George MacDonald the novelist, David Masson, and Hill Burton the historian, among others, came from Aberdeen halls; and Aberdeen is doing her full share in contributing to the *Scottish Text Society* publications. See also under Bibliography, VI, Historians.

asserting herself, in a literary way. This Strathclyde district was the home of militant Evangelicalism, so distasteful to Burns; it was also the home country of Wallace and of Bruce, national Scottish heroes; as well as the historic seat of the Covenanters. Waldensian Lollards are said to have settled there in mediæval times, and they have left a legacy of song as a heritage.

Next comes a preëminently Scottish country, where more of the pure Pictish element remains than anywhere else; more ballad lore; more quaint burghs; more of Scotland as she appeared in Stuart times under French architecture and Franco-Flemish influences. This is the "kingdom" of Fife, with a university of her own, St. Andrews, and an easy access by water to Leith and Edinburgh.

Immediately to the north lies one of the most productive districts, intellectually speaking, of Scotland, with its ancient abbey of Arbroath and its cathedral of Brechin; strongly Scandinavian in the temper of its people, especially of the fisher folk, who are so well described in Scott's *Antiquary*. North of it lie Kincardine, the home of the noble Keiths, whom Burns's ancestors served in peace and war, and Aberdeen, which retained more hereditary Episcopalians than any county in Scotland. Its two colleges, King's and Marischal, have always been active educational centers. An Aberdeen professor, Henry Scougal, at the close of the seventeenth century, wrote a book, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, which was to influence profoundly Oxford religious men, and have a special effect on both the Wesleys. Banffshire and Elgin have supplied Aberdeen University with a steady stream of good students. In Perthshire, the home of the Drummonds, Jacobitism and Jacobite song were once strongly in evidence; it was Carolina Nairne's county.

Stirlingshire and the vale of Forth naturally supply Edinburgh with her best men. East Lothian, the home of William Dunbar, of John Major, and of John Knox, has been producing leading men in almost every generation.

Scotland has been exploited for us topographically by novelist and story-teller since the time of Scott, whose own romances are a storehouse of local description:—Lanarkshire in *Old Mortality*; Glasgow and West Stirlingshire in *Rob Roy*; Dum-

fries and the Solway in *Guy Mannering* and *Redgauntlet*; the Tweed district in *The Monastery* and *The Black Dwarf*; Forfarshire in *The Antiquary*; Kinross and West Fifeshire in *The Abbot*; the shores of the Tay and Fife in *The Fair Maid of Perth*; Edinburgh in *The Heart of Midlothian* and *Guy Mannering*; Perthshire in *Waverley*; the far Shetlands in *The Pirate*; and the list might be enlarged from his romances in verse.

Scott has been followed by John Galt, who gives us Ayrshire in *The Provost* and *The Ayrshire Legatees*; by George MacDonald, who describes Aberdeenshire and the Northeast in *Alec Forbes of Howglen*, *Robert Falconer*, and *David Elginbrod*; by Robert Louis Stevenson, who deals with the Perthshire highlands and the Northwest in *Kidnapped*, and with Edinburgh and Peeblesshire in *Weir of Hermiston*; by Samuel R. Crockett, who exploits South Ayrshire in *The Grey Man of Auchendrane*, and Galloway in *The Men of the Moss Hags*; by Mrs. Oliphant, who reproduces the quaint gray coast of Fife in *Katie Stewart*; by William Black, who gives us the Hebrides in *A Princess of Thule* and Argyleshire in *Macleod of Dare*; by Neil Munro, who describes Inverary and its neighborhood in *John Splendid*; and by David Gilmour, who reproduces for us the weavers of Paisley in his *The Pen Folk*. The list might be extended indefinitely.

A magnet which has attracted literary men to Scotland has been the triennial election by Scottish university students of their Lord Rector. It brought back Thomas Campbell to his own university and city in 1827; he had left Scotland for the southern capital in his twenty-sixth year just as *The Edinburgh Review* was founded. Thomas Babington Macaulay had also this connection, in 1849, with Glasgow University. There were two other bonds of connection: his father, Zachary Macaulay, was a Scotchman from the shores of the Clyde; and in 1839 he himself became a member of Parliament for Edinburgh, thus representing a Scottish constituency. Other distinguished Lord Rectors have been Lord Beaconsfield and John Bright at Glasgow; Gladstone, Carlyle, and Stafford Northcote at Edinburgh; John Stuart Mill, Froude, Dean Stanley, and Lord Selborne at St. Andrews; and James Bryce and Lord Rosebery at Aberdeen. The addresses of these men have

frequently been replete with interest to students of the national literature; for instance, Dean Stanley's rectorial address in 1875 led to a notable discussion on Scottish ecclesiastical history in which Principal Robert Rainy took a prominent part.

From the time of Dugald Stewart, Scotland became a recognized center of philosophic thought, and her universities constantly drew students from England and elsewhere. During the nineteenth century, no professor of philosophy, not a native, or at least home-trained, was to be found at any one of the four universities. Things have changed since the opening of the twentieth century, the two recent appointments to St. Andrews University being exceptions to the old custom. Henry Frederick Stout, who succeeded David George Ritchie in the chair of Logic and Metaphysics in 1903, is a native of the north of England, and was trained at Cambridge University under James Ward; and Bernard Bosanquet, who succeeded in the same year to the chair of Moral Philosophy, held successively by Ferrier, Flint, and Knight, was educated at Harrow School and at Balliol College, Oxford, and is also a native of the north of England.

There has been a give-and-take in Scottish and American university relations. The first President of Princeton had a marked influence upon Scottish thought, as we know from the tribute Thomas Chalmers paid to Jonathan Edwards; an influence perhaps more marked than that exercised upon his own countrymen. In the year 1868 Scotland gave a President to the New Jersey institution, who proved a signal success. James McCosh was a brilliant student under Sir William Hamilton, receiving in 1834 the distinction of an honorary M.A. degree at Edinburgh for philosophic speculation. Another student of Sir William Hamilton's, John Clark Murray, crossed to Queen's College, Canada, in 1861, and was transferred eleven years later to McGill University, Montreal. He was succeeded there in 1903 by another Edinburgh student, William Caldwell, author of a valuable work on Schopenhauer. At Queen's, now a university, Dr. Murray was succeeded by John Watson, trained at Glasgow under Edward Caird. James Seth, brother of Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison, successor of Alexander Campbell Fraser at Edinburgh, held for six years the chair of Philosophy at Dalhousie College, Nova Scotia, and was transferred in 1892 to Brown University at Providence. On

the death of Henry Calderwood, he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University. Robert Mark Wenley, of the University of Michigan, was trained under Edward Caird at Glasgow; and Thomas Davidson, who belonged to the Hegelian set at St. Louis, in which William T. Harris, until recently U. S. Commissioner of Education, was a leading spirit, was trained at Aberdeen University. Davidson's recent death has called forth an appreciative memoir (1905) from the pen of Prof. C. M. Bakewell, late of the University of California, and now of Yale University.

At Edinburgh University, the union of exact science with theology has been close since the days of Thomas Chalmers and Hugh Miller. To this combination we owe *The Unseen Universe* of Professors Peter Guthrie Tait and Balfour Stewart, published in 1875, and Henry Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. The two brothers Geikie, Sir Archibald and James, have united geological research with lighter forms of literature and an excellent literary style. Sir Archibald Geikie's *Scottish Reminiscences* (MacLehose, 1904) is racy of the soil.

The "Kailyard School," as it has been nicknamed by the Bohemian Henley, is a literary development having a sentimental-religious flavor, perhaps to be traced back to certain passages in Burns's *Cotter's Saturday Night*. Christopher North indulges freely in "kailyard" sentiment in his *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life*; it is full-blown in Ian Maclaren's *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*; and it is present in Barrie's *Auld Licht Idylls* and *A Window in Thrums*. Its Canadian counterpart exponent is Ralph Connor (Charles W. Gordon), author of *The Sky Pilot* and *Black Rock*.

CONTINENTAL EUROPE IN ITS INFLUENCE UPON SCOTLAND.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the leaders of Scottish thought were strongly under the influence of French ideals. Francis Jeffrey, the editor for nearly thirty years of *The Edinburgh Review*, had the virtues and the defects of a French *philosophe*. Walter Scott, while he knew and appreciated the value of German literature, and translated Bürger's *Lenore*, married a Frenchwoman, and one of his most illuminating novels is *Quentin Durward*, a French historical romance. Indeed, Scott comes near being a French writer, so deep is the

impression he has made upon French literature. Although Coleridge and his German-loving followers were in the Tory camp, yet Lockhart, the leading pen among the Tories, made a sharp and regrettable attack upon him. Continental philosophy of an idealistic type was to come in with Cousin, a Frenchman, an article on whom, written by (Sir) William Hamilton, was that philosopher's first contribution to the pages of *The Edinburgh Review*. When it appeared Jeffrey declared it unreadable; it formed part of his successor's first issue. German philosophy was not to come in as a lively influence on Scottish thought until the second half of the century, at Glasgow University, with the two Cairds. At St. Andrews University, Spencer Baynes had translated Arnauld, and John Tulloch had expounded Pascal. Under Alexander Bain's teaching at Aberdeen, French positivism became for a time dominant.

The comparative study of Scandinavian literature and the Scandinavian language, with which the century had opened hopefully, was left neglected. Late in the century, a Forfarshire student, trained at Edinburgh University, William Archer, became the exponent of Ibsen, himself partly Scottish by descent.

Prof. W. E. Aytoun, who died in the sixties, was directly influenced by German lyric poetry, and translated the ballads of Uhland, Goethe, and other Germans. Carlyle and his school were German in their affinities. Literature received some accessions from orthodox Evangelical students of theology, who having crossed to Germany to carry on their studies, became infected with liberalism in thinking, and gave up their ministerial aspirations. William Robertson Smith represented a school in the most orthodox of the three churches—now reduced to two by union—which was influenced by Wellhausen, Kuenen, and other Continental theologians. When removed from his chair at Aberdeen Free Church College, in 1881, for inculcating hazardous views, he went south to Cambridge, to be Professor of Arabic in the university there; and in 1887 succeeded Thomas Spencer Baynes in the editorship of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Ritschl, Pfleiderer, and other prominent German thinkers have their exponents to-day in the several theological schools of Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

SCOTTISH PUBLISHERS, JOURNALS,
AND EDITORS.

The leading publisher in Edinburgh at the opening of the nineteenth century—known in the trade as the “Czar of Muscovy”—was Archibald Constable. At the time when he coöperated with Francis Jeffrey, Sidney Smith, and Francis Horner in founding *The Edinburgh Review* in 1802, he was still under thirty years of age. Until his failure in the crisis of 1825, Constable was regarded as uniting prudence with extraordinary foresight and capacity. The biography by his son, *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondence* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1873), is a mine of information for literary investigators. Francis Jeffrey, who was virtually editor from the outset, retained the editorship of the great quarterly until 1829, when he was succeeded by Macvey Napier. Jeffrey’s *Life and Correspondence* has been written by Cockburn (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1852). The “self-constituted judge of poesy” became Lord Advocate in 1831; helped to draft the Reform Bill brought in by his party; and was raised to the bench three years later as Lord Jeffrey. His essays contributed to *The Edinburgh Review* have been published in a separate volume. Chief among his contributors for several decades was the versatile Henry Brougham, who left the Scottish bar for Westminster in 1808, but continued his literary connection with the periodical, and later showed extraordinary jealousy of the growing fame and influence of Thomas Babington Macaulay.

The Edinburgh Review has a perennial interest for students of English literature, as having evoked Byron’s stinging satire, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, which appeared in March, 1809. Byron regarded “Jeffrey and Lambe”^{*}—not to be con-

^{*} George Lamb was English-bred, having been educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. His brother, the statesman, attended classes at Glasgow University. Lamb afterwards became friendly with Byron, and collaborated with him in producing plays.

founded with his elder brother, William Lamb, later Viscount Melbourne—as the “alpha and omega, the first and last,” of the great periodical. The only university professor whom he attacked was Pillans, then a tutor at Eton. The university and its set were from the first friendly to the “Buff and Blue,” giving it moral and practical support:—Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, Sir David Brewster, John Playfair, John Leslie, and Sir William Hamilton.

Thomas Chalmers early contributed to its pages. So also did Thomas Carlyle, whose essays on Jean Paul Richter and on Burns first saw the light in its columns. These two are familiar, having been reprinted in his *Miscellanies*; but he also wrote on Montaigne, Montesquieu, Sir John Moore, Nelson, Mungo Park the explorer, and the two Pitts.

Constable was a Whig; and the Tories, becoming emulous, decided to have an organ of their own. There was another bookseller in the northern capital, of Tory proclivities, two years Constable's junior. William Blackwood had published for the author of *Waverley* the first series of *Tales of My Landlord*, and he was Edinburgh correspondent for John Murray of Albemarle street, London, the “Emperor” of the trade. In the spring of 1817 there appeared *The Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*, followed in the autumn by *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. The first issue of *Blackwood's* caused a ferment, through the caustic and scorpion-like *Translation from an Ancient Chaldee Manuscript*. With John Wilson, John Gibson Lockhart, and other brilliant contributors on its editorial staff, the success of “Maga” was assured. In its pages appeared, from 1822 to 1835, the inimitable *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. In 1825 Lockhart went to London to become editor of *The Quarterly Review*. The story of *Blackwood's Magazine* and its publishers has been told at length by Mrs. Oliphant in her two volumes, *William Blackwood and His Sons* (Edinburgh, 1897).

The brothers Chambers, William and Robert, rose to prominence as Edinburgh publishers in the third decade of the century. In 1832 they founded *Chambers's Journal*, a weekly, and later a monthly, which has done much in a popular way for the promotion of literature. For a short time James Payn, the English novelist, had charge of the Journal. The *Vestiges of Creation*, by Robert Chambers, published anonymously in

1844, had a powerful influence on the religious thought of the time, and is supposed to have left its traces upon Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. Their *English Literature*, *The Book of Days*, *Information for the People*, *English Dictionary*, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, and other works of reference are well known. *Chambers's Encyclopedia*, the first edition of which was completed in 1866, appeared in a third edition in 1893—a model of literary form. The story of the lives of the two brothers is told in *Memoir of William and Robert Chambers* (13th edition, 1884).

Associated with the Chambers brothers, and chiefly responsible for the success of their *English Literature*, was R. Carruthers, the able editor of *The Inverness Courier*, a native of Dumfriesshire.

James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd," became in 1810 editor of *The Spy*, a journal published in Edinburgh.

Another enterprising Edinburgh bookseller, David Douglas, started in 1844 a quarterly of high merit, *The North British Review*, meant to serve as an organ of the Evangelical party. Its first editor was Dr. Welsh, colleague of Dr. Thomas Chalmers in the Divinity Hall of Edinburgh University, and Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the year of the Disruption. It was he who led the way on that historic day in May, 1843, when four hundred ministers of the Church filed out of St. Andrew's church, Edinburgh, and formed a new church organization, known as the Free Church of Scotland. Welsh survived only a short time, and was succeeded in the editorship by William Hanna, a native of the North of Ireland, who married a daughter of Dr. Chalmers and later wrote his biography. After three years in the work, he handed it over to Alexander Campbell Fraser, then in the New College, Edinburgh. Thereafter two professors in the same college, Dr. John Duns and Dr. William Blaikie, were its editors. Changing hands and policy in 1869, it was discontinued two years later. Many excellent articles are to be found in its pages.

Hugh Miller's work as editor of *The Witness* at Edinburgh (1840-1856), must not be overlooked. In its columns first appeared his delightful studies entitled *The Old Red Sandstone*.

The publishers Black—Adam and his nephew Charles—having gained control of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1829, brought out a ninth edition in 1875–1889, with Thomas Spencer Baynes, Professor of Logic and English Literature at St. Andrews University, as its editor. Baynes was an Englishman from near Bristol, who had studied under Sir William Hamilton at Edinburgh, and had been his favorite pupil. Most of his staff were Scotchmen. Its excellence has received world-wide recognition.

Thomas Nelson founded at Edinburgh a publishing house which has kept in close touch with the Evangelical party in Scotland, and for many years brought out *The Family Treasury*, a predecessor and contemporary of *Good Words* and *The Sunday at Home*, of which Norman Macleod and Thomas Guthrie respectively were editors. The firm now publishes an excellent weekly, *The Scottish Review and Christian Leader*. For fourteen years, during a disturbed period (1832–1846), *Tait's Magazine* at Edinburgh represented the advanced school of politics.

In the eighteenth century Glasgow became famous for the high quality of its printing. The brothers Foulis, Robert and Andrew, closely associated with Adam Smith and his colleagues at Glasgow University, published editions of the Latin and Greek classics, of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and of other standard works, which remain marvels of excellence and correctness. Their work was carried on by Andrew Foulis, Jr., who died in 1829, an impoverished and disappointed man. The Foulises strove to rival the Etiennes and Elzevirs of the Continent. Hedderwick and Son succeeded to their reputation as printers.

In William Motherwell's time, Paisley was a center of considerable literary activity. Motherwell was himself a native of Glasgow, but had relatives in Paisley, where he received his training as a lawyer. In 1828 he undertook the editorship of *The Paisley Advertiser*, along with the management of *The Paisley Magazine*. Two years later he removed to Glasgow to edit *The Glasgow Courier*, which he conducted till his death in 1835. One of his friends and associates was John Donald Carrick, who contributed a *Life of Sir William Wallace* to *Constable's Miscellany*, served as sub-editor of the *The Scots*

Times, and as editor of *The Day*, both Glasgow periodicals; and later as editor of *The Perthshire Advertiser* and *The Kilmarnock Journal*. Carrick also contributed to *The Scottish Magazine*, before his early death in 1835. Another friend, Alexander Rodger, author of the song *Behave yourself before folk*, quoted in the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, was attached to *The Glasgow Chronicle* and *The Reformers' Gazette*. Along with James Ballantine, Imlah, Malone, Thom, and others, they brought out in 1853 a collection of songs, under the whimsical title, *Whistle-Binkie*, the projector and publisher being David Robertson; and a prose collection, *The Laird of Logan*, which deals with Scottish humor of all kinds and varieties. The musician of the group was R. A. Smith, to whom Scottish music is indebted for many fine melodies.

While Scottish publishers were active in their native land, their record across the border was also a remarkable one. It begins with the names of John Pinkerton and of John Murray, father of John Murray, of Byron fame, known as the "Emperor" of the British book trade. Both of them went south to London about the middle of the eighteenth century, and were followed by others of their countrymen in the same profession. James Fraser from Inverness was one of these, who, having succeeded as a bookseller in Regent street, London, started in 1830 *Fraser's Magazine*, wherein appeared some ten years later Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship*. Through its pages John Skelton, under the pseudonym of "Shirley," made himself known to the public. The last editor of *Fraser's* was Principal John Tulloch, who accepted the task in 1876; but it was soon afterwards discontinued. The Macmillan firm, known everywhere for its educational and literary publications, was founded by two natives of the isle of Arran in the Clyde, Daniel and Alexander Macmillan, who crossed the border to find careers in England, and settled in Cambridge. It has been represented for many years in the magazine world by *Macmillan's Magazine*.

Reference is made elsewhere in this survey to the active Paisley firm of Alex. Gardner, which brought out *The Scottish Review*, and has been prolific in the publication of scholarly works on Scottish themes. Dr. William Metcalfe, editor of this quarterly during the eighteen years of its existence, has made

valuable contributions to the *Transactions of the Scottish Text Society*. The publishers of *The Dundee Advertiser*, Sir John Leng & Co., have for many years conducted a weekly for the home entitled *The People's Friend*, which has a circulation in both hemispheres; James Payn saw in its pages his first printed article.

The Glasgow firm of MacLehose, founded by James MacLehose, a friend of Daniel Macmillan's, is associated with publications of a high standard.

The associates of Robert Louis Stevenson founded, in 1888, at Edinburgh, *The Scots Observer*, later known as *The National Observer*, and William Ernest Henley was summoned north to conduct it. James Barrie and Andrew Lang became valuable assistants of the enterprise, and the publication in its columns, in 1889, of Rudyard Kipling's *Barrack Room Ballads* proved a hit. After a brilliant and stormy career of six years, it changed its ownership and policy.

The popularity of the *Wee Macgreegor* (1903) of J. J. Bell, editor of one of the Glasgow evening dailies, continued the literary vogue of Glasgow journalism. William Wallace of the same city, editor-in-chief of the powerful *Glasgow Herald*, is the capable editor of the four-volume edition (1892) of Chambers's *Life and Works of Robert Burns*, and has also edited *Burns and Mrs. Dunlop* (1898), from MSS. in the library of the late Robert Borthwick Adam of Buffalo, N. Y.

CHAPTER III.

THE LANGUAGE.

The appearance of Dr. John Jamieson's Preface to his *Scottish Dictionary* (1808) happened at a time when there was a revival of interest in the literature of Scotland both in the little kingdom itself and in England, largely through Bishop Percy's labors and the publication of Macpherson's *Ossian*. The interest still remained seventeen years later when the supplemental volume appeared. There were living at the time of its publication, Sir Walter Scott, David Laing, George Chalmers, John Pinkerton, Robert Jamieson, Dr. Robertson, and Dr. McCrie. A cultured Lowland Scottish was then spoken in the drawing-rooms of Edinburgh. The *Dictionary* had a curious history. What first set Jamieson to work was the remark made in a Forfarshire manse by Grim Thorkelin, Professor of Antiquities in Copenhagen, that the Scottish language was not a dialect, but in fact more ancient than English, and a branch of Scandinavian.

Jamieson's work is more than a mere register of words and their meanings. It is a literary repository of folklore, institutions, manners, customs, and antiquities. A new and enlarged edition appeared in 1879-1887, under the supervision of David Donaldson, aided by Dr. Longmuir (Alex. Gardner, Paisley); and a later fifth volume has since followed.

Jamieson, who lived in a district—Forfarshire—strongly Scandinavian in population, minimized the Anglo-Saxon element in the Scottish language, and tried to show that it belonged rather to the Danish-Norwegian group. Scholars have not supported Jamieson in this contention, nor in his referring the Picts to a Scandinavian origin.

Dr. Charles Mackay, among varied activities, published in 1877 *The Gaelic and Celtic Etymology of the Languages of Western Europe*; in 1882, *The Poetry and Humour of the Scotch Language*; and in 1888 *A Dictionary of Lowland Scotch*—somewhat superficially treated.

A Scottish scholar, serving on the editorial staff of Dr. Murray's *Oxford Dictionary*, has recently done something to revive this study of Scandinavian sources, for long discouraged and neglected in this particular connection:—W.C. Craigie in his *Scandinavian Folklore, Illustrations of the Traditional Beliefs of the Northern Peoples* (Alex. Gardner, Paisley and London, 1896).

The first half of the century was a period of steady Anglicanizing, when Scotchmen tried their best to lose their Caledonian peculiarities. Thence sprang up a spurious affected English, known popularly as "Princes Street" or "Kelvinside."

With the second half of the century there was noticeable an opposite swing of the pendulum. Peter Hatley Waddell, of Glasgow, translated the *Psalms of David* into what he considered Scottish (1870); and in 1901 the Rev. William Wye Smith followed with the *New Testament* scotticized. It is a well-executed piece of work; but the fact that the Authorized Version of King James has for nearly three centuries been in every Scottish home and read in every Scottish pulpit, establishing a standard of propriety in religious phraseology, makes all such attempts, at best, mere *tours de force*. The writers of the "Kailyard" school have been accused, and with some justice, of having turned plain English into a spurious Scotch for mere literary effect.

In 1873, Dr. J. A. H. Murray, now of Oxford, published, in pamphlet form, his *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, which has not been superseded, but is unfortunately out of print. For many years Dr. Murray and other scholars made contributions in the field of Scottish literary remains to the publications of The Early English Text Society.

The recent completion of Prof. Joseph Wright's monumental *English Dialect Dictionary*, which pays full attention to Scottish forms, is a boon to students of the language. Scottish, or Northern English, as he prefers to call it, has been taught systematically for several years at Johns Hopkins University by Prof. W. Hand Browne, not himself a Scotchman.

CHAPTER IV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS: SCOTTISH AUTHORS.

Lauder's Compendious Tractate on the Dewtie of Kings, by F. Hall. 1864.

Hume's *Orthographie and Congruity of the Britan Tongue* (about 1617), by H. B. Wheatley. 1865.

Merlin, by H. B. Wheatley. 1865, 1866, 1869. Part III (1869) contains an essay on Arthurian localities, with a map of Arthurian Scotland, by J. Stuart Glennie. Published separately, with preface, index, etc., by Messrs. Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. Southern Scotland is here termed the "New Hellas," the "land of literary romance," the real scene of Arthur's exploits and of his death on the shores of the Forth.

Sir David Lindsay's Works, by F. Hall. 1865, 1866, 1868, 1869. 4 vols. Volume V (1871) contains Professor Nichol's *Sketch of Scottish Poetry*, referred to elsewhere. The editor of Volume IV, containing Lindsay's *Minor Poems*, is Dr. J. A. H. Murray.

Bernardus de cura rei familiaris, with Some Early Scottish Prophecies, by J. Rawson Lumly, late Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge. 1870.

William Lauder's Minor Poems, by F. J. Furnivall.

The Bruce, compiled by Master John Barbour, 1575; edited by Walter W. Skeat. 1870-1889.

Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceuldoune; with Illustrations from the Prophetic Literature of the 15th and 16th Centuries, by J. A. H. Murray. 1875.

II. SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

Between the death of Mr. David Laing (1878) and the formation of the Scottish Text Society (1883) Mr. Small did much to "foster a taste for Scottish literature and to spread a

knowledge of it." He was Honorary Secretary of the Bannatyne Club, and acted as its editor. He edited Knox, Lindsay, and Henryson, and was busy with Wyntoun at the time of his death. His work on Dunbar was carried to completion by the Rev. W. Gregor, LL.D.

The following are some of the more notable publications:

The Actis and Deidis of the Illustere and Vailzeand Campioun Schir William Wallace, Knicht of Ellerslie, by Henry the Minstrel, commonly known as Blind Harry. Edited by James Moir, M.A., Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1889. *For the Scottish Text Society.*

The Poems of William Dunbar. Edited by the late John Small, LL.D., Librarian of the University of Edinburgh. Introduction by Æneas J. G. Mackay. Appendix by G. P. McNeill, Advocate, *On the Versification and Metres of Dunbar*. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1893. *For the Scottish Text Society.*

Other volumes of interest are:

Scottish Alliterative Poems, in Riming Stanzas. Edited with introduction, appendix, notes, and glossary, by F. J. Amours, French Master in the High School of Glasgow. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1897. *For the Scottish Text Society.*

The Gude and Godlie Ballatis. Reprinted from the edition of 1567. Edited with introductions and notes by A. F. Mitchell, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, St. Andrews. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1897. *For the Scottish Text Society.*

The New Testament in Scots, being Purvey's Revision of Wycliffe's Version, turned into Scots by Murdoch Nisbet (c. 1520). Edited by Thomas Graves Law, LL.D. Vol. I (1900), Vol. II (1902). Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. *For the Scottish Text Society.*

III. INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS FROM 1750.

Robert Fergusson (1750–1774), regarded with so much esteem by Robert Burns as his "elder brother in the misfortune" and "by far my elder, brother in the Muses," received

full attention from editors during the following century. The last year of the eighteenth century closed with two editions:

Poems on Various Subjects, by Robert Fergusson. Tullis, Cupar-Fife, 1880.

Works of Robert Fergusson, with life, by David Irving. Chapman & Lang, Glasgow, 1800.

These were followed by numerous other editions: W. & J. Deas, Edinburgh, 1805; Oliver & Co., Edinburgh, 1806; Oddy, London, 1807, with life by Alexander Peterkin; A. Macpherson, London, 1809, with life by James Bannington; William Scott, Greenock, 1810; William Bisland, Glasgow, 1821; Fairbairn & Anderson, Edinburgh, 1821, with life by Rev. James Gray; Neilson, Paisley, 1825; W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh, 1840; A. Fullarton & Co., London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, 1879; and Alex. Gardner, Paisley, 1900, with memoir and notes by Robert Ford.

Robert Burns (1759–1796). There are now about nine hundred separate editions, complete or selected, of the poems of the Ayrshire bard. At Kilmarnock, in Scotland, a yearly *Chronicle* is published. A remarkably complete collection of Burnsiana has been made by William R. Smith, of the Botanical Garden, Washington, D. C., which includes the library that belonged to the poet, mostly in duplicate. Its final destination is the large Carnegie Library and Museum at Pittsburgh.

The recognized editions of Burns are:

Dr. Currie's *The Works of Robert Burns*, in four volumes, with an account of his life and a criticism of his writings. Liverpool, 1800. An American edition appeared in the following year in Philadelphia.

The Poetical Works of Robert Burns. Aldine Edition. With a memoir by Sir Harris Nicolas. Pickering, London, 1830.

Allan Cunningham's *The Works of Robert Burns*, in eight volumes, with his life. Cochrane & McCrone, London, 1834.

Hogg and Motherwell's *The Works of Robert Burns*, in five volumes. Fullarton & Co., London, 1836.

Alex. Whitelaw's *The Works of Robert Burns*, with a complete life of the poet, and an essay on his genius and character, by Professor Wilson. Blackie & Son, Glasgow, 1846.

Robert Chambers's *The Life and Works of Robert Burns*, in

four volumes. W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh, 1851. This edition, revised and partly rewritten by William Wallace of Glasgow, appeared in 1892, and ranks with the very best. For several years Mr. Wallace lived in the Burns country, being classical master at Ayr Academy.

George Gilfillan's *The Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, with memoir, critical dissertations, and explanatory notes. Nichol, Edinburgh, 1856. An edition appeared in 1864, of which Charles Cowden edited the text. An *edition de luxe* recently appeared in London.

Alexander Smith's *The Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, with glossarial index and a biographical memoir. Macmillan, Edinburgh, 1865. This edition is reproduced in the Golden Treasury Series, and appears with the letters in the Globe Edition, both issued by the same publishing house.

William Gunnyon's *The Complete Works of Robert Burns*. Nimmo, Edinburgh, 1866.

W. Scott Douglas's *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, arranged in the order of their earliest publication. McKie, Kilmarnock, 1871. A later edition, which came out in 1877-9, includes both poems and prose; in six volumes, royal 8vo, with portraits, vignettes and frontispieces from drawings by Sam Bough, W. E. Lockhart, and others. A third edition appeared in 1891 (W. Paterson, Edinburgh). This is perhaps the best library edition.

W. M. Rossetti's *The Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, illustrated by John Moyr Smith. In Moxon's *Popular Poets*. London, 1879.

J. Logie Robertson's *Burns; Selected Poems*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1889.

Henley and Henderson's *The Poetry of Robert Burns*, with etchings by William Hole. In four volumes. T. & C. Jack, Edinburgh, 1896. This, known as the Centenary Edition, contains the celebrated biographical essay by W. E. Henley, which received in 1898 the £50 literary prize for the best production of the year.

A. Lang and W. A. Craigie's *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*. Methuen & Co., London, 1896.

The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns. Cambridge Edition. (This is an abridgment of the Centenary Edition of Henley & Henderson.) Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1897.

The Complete Works of Robert Burns, in twelve volumes. Gebbie, Philadelphia, 1898. This is the American *edition de luxe*.

John G. Dow's *Poems of Robert Burns*. In the Athenæum Press. Ginn & Co., Boston, 1899.

Hanson's *Representative Poems of Robert Burns*, with Carlyle's essay. Ginn & Co., Boston, 1904.

The following are notable biographies, essays, and other Burnsiana:

J. G. Lockhart's *The Life of Robert Burns*. Constable, Edinburgh, 1828. This biography called forth the celebrated essay by Carlyle, which appeared in the columns of *The Edinburgh Review*.

John Campbell Shairp's *Robert Burns*. In "English Men of Letters" series. Macmillan, London, 1879.

John Stuart Blackie's *The Life of Robert Burns*, with bibliography by J. P. Anderson. In "Great Writers" series. Walter Scott, London, 1888.

J. B. Reid's *Complete Word and Phrase Concordance to the Poems and Songs of Burns*. Kerr & Richardson, Glasgow, 1889.

W. A. Craigie's *A Primer of Burns*, with bibliography. Methuen & Co., London, 1896.

Burns and Mrs. Dunlop. Edited by William Wallace. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1898.

Gabriel Setoun's *Burns*. In "Famous Scots" series. Oliphant, Edinburgh, 1900.

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). Editions of *The Waverley Novels* published during the nineteenth century are numerous. In Edinburgh appeared: The Author's Favourite Edition, 48 vols., 1830-1834, usually esteemed the best; the Cabinet Edition, 25 vols., 1841-1843; the Abbotsford Edition, 12 vols., 1842-1847; the People's Edition, 5 vols., 1846; the Library Edition, 25 vols., 1852-1853; the Railway Edition, 25 vols., 1854-1860; the Illustrated Roxburghe Edition, 48 vols., 1859-1861; the Centenary Edition, 25 vols., 1870-1871; and the Pocket Edition, 1873.

In London appeared: The Handy Volume Edition, 25 vols., 1877; the Edition de Luxe, illustrated, with original engravings by A. Marie, F. Lix, M. Riou, and H. Scott, 1882; and a thirteen-volume edition in 1883-84.

In Boston, U. S. A., there appeared in 1829, in 43 vols., Parker's second edition. [Mr. J. P. Anderson's list is defective in regard to American editions.]

The following editions of his poetical works may be noted:

The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott. Edited by J. G. L. With an appendix. 12 vols. Edinburgh, 1833-34.

The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott. With memoir and critical dissertation by George Gilfillan. 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1857.

The Globe Edition. With a biographical and critical memoir by F. T. Palgrave. Macmillan, London, 1866.

A London edition, 1870, edited by W. M. Rossetti, with a critical memoir. Another in Edinburgh, 1872, with introduction by W. Spalding; and a third in London, 1885-86, with prefatory notice, biographical and critical, by William Sharp, in the *Canterbury Poets*.

William Minto's *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1888.

The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott. Edited with revision of the text, by W. J. Rolfe. Boston, 1888.

The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott. Edited by Andrew Lang. 2 vols. The Macmillan Co., 1889.

The Complete Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott. Cambridge Edition. Edited by H. E. Scudder. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1890.

The Complete Poetical and Dramatic Works of Sir Walter Scott. Riverside Edition. 5 vols. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

The Poems of Scott. In *Aldine Poets*. 5 vols. George Bell & Sons, London.

Among annotated editions may be mentioned William Minto's two volumes, *The Lady of the Lake* and *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, in the Clarendon Press series, Oxford; and Thomas Bayne's *Marmion* and *The Lord of the Isles*, in the same series. The "English Men of Letters" appreciation of Scott by R. H. Hutton is one of the least successful of his literary efforts. Charles Duke Yonge contributes the Scott to the "Great Writers" series, which contains a valuable bibliography by J. P. Anderson of the British Museum. Robert Chambers published a *Life of Scott*, of which a new edition,

with notes by R. Carruthers, appeared in 1871. Professor Hudson, late of Stanford University, published in 1898 a *Life of Scott* (Sands & Co.).

James Hogg (1772–1835), the “Ettrick Shepherd,” famous not only for his own works of genius, but also through his association with Sir Walter Scott, Lockhart, Christopher North, and the Blackwood set, was a very unequal writer. Hogg’s *Scottish Pastorals, Poems, and Songs* appeared in 1801; *The Mountain Bard* in 1803; *The Queen’s Wake* in 1813. His *Works* have been edited by Thomson (Edinburgh, 1865). In 1887 there appeared a *Memoir of James Hogg*, from the pen of his daughter, Mrs. Garden (Alex. Gardner, Paisley); the second edition and edited by Sir George Douglas. The same firm has also published Hogg’s *A Tour in the Highlands in 1803*. Charles Rogers published in 1860 a book entitled *Ettrick Forest and the Ettrick Shepherd*.

Robert Tannahill (1774–1816), the Paisley lyric poet, who died by his own hand in a fit of despondency, has always been closely associated with Burns in the popular mind, and their songs have been printed together. And yet Mr. Millar, in his *A Literary History of Scotland*, gives Tannahill but a passing mention. A Glasgow publisher, Marr, brought out, in 1883, *The Select Songs of Burns and Tannahill*. The best edition of Tannahill was issued from the press of Alex. Gardner, Paisley, in 1900: *The Poems and Songs of Robert Tannahill*, with life and notes, by the late David Semple, F.S.A.

John Leyden (1775–1811). Leyden edited *The Complaynt of Scotland*, 1801–1802. *Poetical Remains of John Leyden*, with life, by Rev. James Morton, 1819. *Leyden’s Poems and Ballads*, with memoir by Sir Walter Scott, 1858.

Thomas Campbell (1777–1844). Mr. Millar, in his survey of Scottish literature, devotes only a footnote to Campbell, on the plea that the poet was English in his literary career. But the poet was born and educated in Glasgow, he wrote *The Pleasures of Hope* in Scotland, and did not leave his native country until 1803, when he was an older man than Keats was at his death. His works appeared as follows: *The Pleasures of Hope*, Muddell & Son, Edinburgh, 1799; *Gertrude of Wyoming and Other Poems*, 1809; *Theodoric*, 1824; *The Pilgrim of Glencoe and*

Other Poems, 1842. His biography appeared in 1850: *The Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, by William Beattie.

John Galt (1779–1830). *The Ayrshire Legatees*, 1820; *Annals of the Parish*, 1821; *Sir Andrew Wylie*, 1822; *The Provost*, 1823; *The Entail*, 1825.

William Tennant (1784–1848), Professor of Oriental Languages at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews University, from 1835 to 1848. *Anster Fair*, 1811; reprint, Edinburgh, 1871; *Papistry Storm'd, or The Dingin' Down of the Cathedral*, 1819; *The Thane of Fife*, 1822; *Cardinal Beaton*, a tragedy, 1823; *John Baliol*, 1825. His life was written by M. F. Connolly and published in 1861.

John Wilson (1785–1854). Pen-name, "Christopher North." *The Isles of Palms*, 1812; *The City of the Plague*, 1816; *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life*, 1822; *The Trials of Margaret Lindsay*, 1823; *Poems and Dramatic Works*, 1825; *Recreations of Christopher North*, 1842. His complete works, edited by his son-in-law, Professor Ferrier, and including the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, came out between 1855 and 1858. His biography has been written by one of his daughters, Mrs. Gordon. A selection from the *Ambrosianæ*, entitled *The Comedy of the Noctes Ambrosianæ*, by Sir John Skelton, appeared at Edinburgh in 1876.

John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854). His productions as novelist, biographer, and critic have not yet lost their value. *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk*, 2d edition (no first), 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1819; *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, 1821; *Essays on Cervantes*, 1822; *Adam Blair*, 1822; *Life of Robert Burns*, 1825; *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 1832–1837. Lockhart's biography has been written by Andrew Lang, 1896.

William Motherwell (1797–1835), in addition to writing ballads and other poems of merit, collected much valuable literary information. *Essays on the Poets of Renfrewshire*, Paisley, 1819; *Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern*, with an historical introduction, Glasgow, 1827; *Poems, Narrative and Lyrical*, David Robertson, Glasgow, 1832; *Poetical Works*, enlarged, with memoir by Rev. J. MacConechy, Glasgow, 1849.

Robert Pollok (1798–1827), M.A. of Glasgow University, 1822; ordained a preacher in the United Succession Church,

May, 1827; died four months later. *The Course of Time*, an epic, 1827; 31st edition, W. Blackwood & Son, 1898. *Minor Poems*, with memoir by his brother David Pollok, Edinburgh, 1843.

Hugh Miller (1802–1856). *Poems Written in the Leisure Hours of a Journeyman Mason*, 1829; *Scenes and Legends in the North of Scotland*, 1836; *The Old Red Sandstone, or New Walks in an Old Field*, 1845; *First Impressions of England and Its People*, 1847; *Footprints of the Creator*, 1850; *My Schools and Schoolmasters*, 1854; *The Testimony of the Rocks*, 1857. Peter Bayne has written his biography: *The Life and Letters of Hugh Miller*, 1862.

Henry Glassford Bell (1805–1874), Sheriff of Lanarkshire. Bell's poem on *Mary, Queen of Scots*, found in school manuals, has had no little effect in forming the popular opinion on the subject. *Memoir of Mary, Queen of Scots*, translated into several foreign languages; *Poems*, 1824; editor of the *Edinburgh Literary Journal* for three years; *Summer and Winter Hours*, 1831; *My Old Portfolio*, 1832.

Susan Ferrier (1808–1864). *The Inheritance*, 1824; *Destiny, or The Chief's Daughter*, 1831.

John Stuart Blackie (1809–1895), Professor of Greek at Edinburgh University. *Lyrical Poems*, 1860; *Lays of the Highlands and Islands*, 1872; *Songs of Religion and Life*, 1876; *Self-Culture*, 1873. His life was written by Miss Stoddart, 2 vols., 1895.

John Brown (1810–1882). *Horæ Subsecivæ*, containing the immortal *Rab and his Friends* and *Pet Marjorie*, 1852; 2d series, 1861; 3d series, 1882.

George Gilfillan (1813–1878), United Presbyterian Minister, Dundee. *Gallery of Literary Portraits*, 3 vols., 1845–1854; *History of Man*, 1856; *Lives of Burns and Scott*.

David Livingstone (1813–1873), the great explorer. *Missionary Travels*, 1857; *The Zambesi and its Tributaries*, 1865; *Last Journals*, 1874.

William Edmonstoune Aytoun (1813–1865), Professor of English Literature at Edinburgh University. *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, 1849; *Tales from Maga*; *Firmilian*, a

Spasmodic Tragedy, 1854; *Book of Ballads*, by *Bon Gaultier*, reprinted from *Fraser and Tait's Magazine*, 1855; *Norman Sinclair*, largely autobiographical, 1861.

Charles Mackay (1814–1889). Born at Perth; editor of *The Glasgow Argus* (1844–1852) and of *The Illustrated London News*, in the latter of which his popular *Songs of Charles Mackay* were originally published periodically. *History of the Mormons*, a fantastic book on Gaelic etymology.

Margaret Oliphant (1818–1896). *Mrs. Margaret Maitland*, 1849 (a story laid at Musselburgh, and dealing with Disruption times); *Adam Graeme of Mossgray*, 1852; *Katie Stewart* (a story of Fifeshire), 1856; *The Minister's Wife*, 1869; *The Life of Edward Irving*, London, 1862; *The Life of Principal Tulloch*, 1888; *Thomas Chalmers*, in "Leaders of Religion" series, London, Methuen & Co., 1896; *Royal Edinburgh*, 1890.

John Campbell Shairp (1819–1885), Professor of Latin, and later Principal, in St. Andrews University; Professor of Poetry at Oxford University. *Kilmahoe, a Highland Pastoral*, 1864; *Glen Dessaray and Other Poems, Lyrical and Elegiac*, edited by F. T. Palgrave, 1888; *Principal Shairp and His Friends*, by W. A. Knight, 1888.

John Caird (1820–1898), Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University, and later its Principal. *The Religion of Common Life*, 1885, considered by Dean Stanley the finest sermon extant; *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, 1880; *Spinoza*, 1888.

George John Whyte Melville (1821–1878). *The Queen's Maries*, 1862; *Songs and Verses*, 1869; *The True Cross*, 1873.

James Grant (1822–1887). *The Romance of War*, 1846, like his other productions, has a strong Jacobite flavor, and is mostly devoted to the heroic deeds of Scotchmen abroad; *Bothwell*; *Harry Ogilvie*; *Old and New Edinburgh*; memoirs of Kirkaldy of Grange and of Montrose.

Walter Chalmers Smith (1824–), minister of the Free Church of Scotland until 1894. *Odrig Grange*; *Borland Hall*; *Raban, or Life Splinters*; *Hilda among the Broken Gods*, 1882; *North Country Folk*, 1883; *Kildrostan, a Dramatic Poem*, 1884; *A Heretic*, 1896; *Ballads from Scottish History*, 1892.

George Macdonald (1824–1905). *David Elginbrod*, 1862; *Alec Forbes of Howglen*, 1865; *Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood*, 1866; *Robert Falconer*, 1868; *The Marquis of Lossie*, 1877; *Lilith*, 1895; *Rampolli*, 1897.

Andrew Kennedy Hutchison Boyd (1825–1899), Parish Minister of St. Andrews; pen-name, "A. K. H. B." *Recreations of a Country Parson*, 1859–1861; *The Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson*, 1863; *Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews*, 2 vols., 1892; *St. Andrews and Elsewhere*, 1895; *Last Years of St. Andrews*, 1896.

Robert Michael Ballantyne (1825–1894). *The Young Fur Traders*, 1856; *Ungava*, 1857; *The Lighthouse*; and other stories of adventure, which have been the pabulum of Scottish youth.

John Ferguson McLennan (1827–1881). Born at Inverness and educated at Aberdeen and Cambridge universities; an authority on primitive man. *Primitive Marriage*, 1865; *The Patriarchal Theory*, 1884; *Studies in Ancient History*, 1896.

David Wingate (1828–1892), the collier-poet, born at Cowden near Glasgow. *Poems and Songs*, 1862; *Annie Weir*, 1866; *Lily Neil, and Other Poems*, 1879; *Poems and Songs*, 1883; *Selected Poems*, 1890.

Alexander Smith (1830–1867). First wrote in *The Glasgow Citizen*. *Life Drama*, 1853; *City Poems*, 1857; *A Summer in Skye*, 1865; *Alfred Hagart's Household*, 1866, in part autobiographical.

David Gray (1838–1861). *In the Shadows*; *The Luggie*, 1862. His *Poems*, published shortly after his death, contain a memoir by Dr. Hedderwick of *The Glasgow Citizen*.

Robert Buchanan (1841–1891). *Undertones*, 1863; *Idylls and Legends of Inverburn*, 1865; *North Coast Poems*, 1867.

Alexander Anderson (1845–), the "Surfaceman" poet, now Assistant Librarian at Edinburgh University; born at Kirkconnel, Dumfriesshire. *A Song of Labor, and Other Poems*, 1875; *The Two Angels, and Other Poems*, 1875; *Songs of the Rail*, 3d ed., 1881; *Ballads and Sonnets*, 1879.

Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1897). *Complete Works*, Edinburgh edition, 28 vols., 1894–1898; Cornford's *Robert*

Louis Stevenson, 1900; W. A. Raleigh's *Robert Louis Stevenson*, an essay, 1895; Graham Balfour's *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson*, 2 vols., New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

John Watson (1850-). Pen-name, "Ian Maclaren." *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, 1894; *The Days of Auld Lang Syne*, 1895; *A Doctor of the Old School*, 1897; *Rabbi Saunderson*, 1898.

Henry Drummond (1851-1897). *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 1883; *Tropical Africa*, 1888; *The Greatest Thing in the World*, 1890; *The Ascent of Man*, 1896. His biography has been written by George Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, 1899.

William Robertson (1849-), Editor of *The Ayrshire Post*. *The Kings of Carrick*; *Historical Tales and Legends of Ayrshire*; *The Lords of Cunningham*; *Auld Ayr*; *The Dule Tree of Cassillis*; *Historic Ayrshire*; *Old Ayrshire Days*.

James Matthew Barrie (1860-). *Auld Licht Idylls*, 1888; *A Window in Thrums*, 1889; *The Little Minister*, 1891; *Sentimental Tommie*, 1896; *Margaret Ogilvy*, 1896; *The Professor's Love Story* (drama), 1895.

Samuel Rutherford Crockett (1860-). *Dulce Cor* (poems), 1886; *The Stickit Minister*, 1893; *The Men of the Moss Hags*, 1895; *The Grey Man of Auchendrane*, 1896; *The Black Douglas*, 1899.

Nell Munro (1864-). *The Lost Pibroch*, 1896; *John Splendid*, a *Highland Romance*, 1898; *The Paymaster's Boy*, 1899.

George Douglas Brown (1869-1902). *The House with the Green Shutters*, 1901.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS: COLLECTIONS OF BALLADS, SONGS, PROVERBS, ETC.

At the very opening of the century, the magnificent ballad literature of Scotland received two highly important additions. Ten years before there had appeared, in six thin volumes, *A Collection of Scottish Ballads* (Morrison Brothers, Perth), 1790; but this publication contained nothing that was new. It was different with *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, by Walter Scott (Cadell & Davies, London), 2 vols.,

1802; a third volume appeared in 1803. Three years later, it was followed by *Popular Ballads and Songs*, from traditions, manuscripts, and scarce editions, with translations of similar pieces from the ancient Danish language, by Robert Jamieson (Ballantyne, Edinburgh), 1806. Among subsequent publications were the following:

Scottish Historical and Romantic Ballads, edited by John Finlay. Edinburgh, 1816.

Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology*. Edinburgh, 1816.

Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern, with an historical introduction and notes, by William Motherwell. Glasgow, 1827.

In 1824, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe had published *A Ballad Book*, reprinted in 1880, which, though of no great size, contained several new ballads and new readings of old ones; and in the same year James Maidment published anonymously *The North Country Garland*. It was followed twenty years later, and (as was understood) from the same source, by *A New Book of Old Ballads*. Edinburgh, 1844.

In the same year as Motherwell's collection, Kinloch published anonymously *Ancient Scottish Ballads*, recovered from tradition, and never before published; with notes and appendix, containing the airs of several of the ballads. Most of the fresh material was from the North Country.

A North Country man, Peter Buchan, working in comparatively unexplored fields—Aberdeen and Banffshire—produced an excellent compendium, which greatly pleased Sir Walter Scott, who, but for failing health, would have brought out an improved edition of the work: *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland*, hitherto unpublished, with explanatory notes, by Peter Buchan. 2 vols., 8vo. Edinburgh, 1828.

Whistle-Binkie, or The Piper of the Party, being a collection of songs for the social circle. David Robertson & Co., Glasgow, 1853.

The Popular Rhymes of Scotland, by Robert Chambers, LL.D. New edition, much enlarged. London, 1870.

The Ballads and Songs of Scotland, by John Clark Murray, LL.D. London, 1874.

Dr. David Laing's *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular and Romantic Poetry of Scotland*. Edited by John Small, Librarian of Edinburgh University. 1885. The book was first published

in parts, in 1821–1822, in a limited edition of one hundred copies.

Edwards's *Modern Scottish Poets*. Brechin, 1880–1897.

Selections from the Early Scottish Poets. Edited with introduction, notes, and a glossary, by William Hand Browne. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1896.

Specimens of Middle Scots. Edited by G. Gregory Smith. Edinburgh, 1902.

F. J. Child's collection of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, in 5 volumes, made its appearance at intervals between 1882 and 1898; and a handy one-volume edition has just been brought out by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. in their Cambridge series.

In 1898, T. F. Henderson brought out his *Vernacular Scottish Literature*, and in the following year his *Anthology of Scottish Verse*. In 1902, appeared his edition of Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

The Ballad Minstrelsy of Scotland: Romantic and historical. With introduction and notes, etc., by Patrick Buchan. Collected and annotated. Alex. Gardner, Paisley, 1901.

William Motherwell's friend, Andrew Henderson, brought out a valuable *Collection of Scottish Proverbs*, and he was followed by Alexander Hislop, a third edition of whose copious *Collection* appeared at Glasgow—entirely revised and supplemented—in 1868. Still more recent is Andrew Cheviot's *Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions, and Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, collected and arranged, with introduction, notes, and parallel phrases. Alex. Gardner, Paisley, 1902.

V. PHILOSOPHERS.

Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University from 1785 to 1810. *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, 1792; *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, 1793; *General View of the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy*, 1816; *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*, 1828; biographies of William Robertson (1801), Thomas Reid (1803), and Adam Smith (1811). His own biography was written by Sir William Hamilton, *The Life and Writings of Dugald Stewart*, 1856.

Thomas Brown (1778–1820), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University from 1810 to 1820. *Observations on Darwin's Zoönomia*, 1798; *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Mind*, 1820. His biography was written by Dr. Welsh, *Life of Thomas Brown*, 1825.

Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847), Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews University from 1823 to 1828; Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University from 1828 to 1843. Original works, 25 vols., 1836; posthumous works, 9 vols., 1848. His biography has been written by Dr. Wm. Hanna, *Life of Dr. Chalmers*, 4 vols., 1849–1852; reprinted, New York, 2 vols., 1878; and by Donald Fraser, London and New York, 1881.

Sir William Hamilton (1788–1856), Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh University from 1836 to 1856. *The Works of Thomas Reid*, 1846; *Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic*, edited by Mansel and Veitch, 1860. His biography was written by John Veitch, 1869.

James Frederick Ferrier (1808–1864), Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews University from 1845 to 1864. *Institutes of Metaphysics: The Theory of Knowing and Being*, 1854; *Lectures on Greek Philosophy* (with life prefixed), 1866.

James McCosh (1811–1894), Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast, from 1851 to 1868; Professor of Philosophy at the College of New Jersey, Princeton, from 1868 to 1890. *An Examination of Mill's Philosophy*, 1866; *Logic*, 1869; *Christianity and Positivism*, 1871; *The Scottish Philosophy, Biographical, Expository, and Critical, from Hutcheson to Hamilton*, 1874; *The Development Hypothesis*, 1876; *The Emotions*, 1880; *Psychology*, 1886; *The Religious Aspect of Evolution*, 1888; *The Prevailing Types of Philosophy: Can they Logically Reach Reality?* 1890; *Our Moral Nature*, 1893; *The Philosophy of Reality*, 1894. His biography has been written by Professor Sloan: *Life of James McCosh*, 1896.

Alexander Bain (1818–1903), Professor of Logic at Aberdeen University from 1860 to 1880. *The Senses and the Intellect*, 1855; *The Emotions and the Will*, 1859; *Mental and Moral Science*, 1868; *Logic, Deductive and Inductive*, 1870; *Mind and Body: Theories of Their Relation*, 1873.

Alexander Campbell Fraser (1819–), Professor of Logic at New College, Edinburgh, from 1845 to 1856; and of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh University from 1856 to 1891. *Six Essays on Philosophy*, 1856; *Collected Essays of Bishop Berkeley*, 1871; *Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, with Prolegomena, Notes, and Dissertations*, 1894; *The Philosophy of Theism*, 1898; *Thomas Reid, a biography*, 1898.

James Hutchison Stirling (1820–). *The Secret of Hegel, being the Hegelian System in Origin, Principle, Form, and Matter*, 1865; *Sir William Hamilton, being the Philosophy of Perception*, 1865; *As Regards Protoplasm*, 1869; *Philosophy and Theology*, Gifford Lectures, 1890.

Thomas Spencer Baynes (1823–1887), Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at St. Andrews University from 1864 to 1887. *Port-Royal Logic*, tr., 1851; *Essay on the New Analytic of Logical Forms*, 1850, regarded as the best abridgment of Hamilton's philosophy.

Edward Caird (1824–), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University from 1886 to 1893; Master of Balliol College, Oxford, since 1893. *A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant*, 1877; *The Critical Philosophical Philosophy of Emmanuel Kant*, 1889; *The Religion and Social Philosophy of Comte*, 1885; *Essays on Literature and Philosophy*, 1892.

John Veitch (1829–1894), Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at St. Andrews University from 1860 to 1864; and of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow University from 1864 to 1894. *Descartes's Discourse on Method*, tr., 1850; *Descartes's Meditations and Selections from the Principles of Philosophy*, 1853.

Simon Somerville Laurie (1829–), Professor of the Institutes and History of Education at Edinburgh University from 1876 to 1902. *The Philosophy of Ethics*, 1866; *Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta*, by Scotus Novanticus, 1884; *Ethica, or The Ethics of Reason*, 1885; *Synthetica: Being Meditations, Epistemological and Ontological*, 1906.

Henry Calderwood (1830–1898), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University from 1868 to 1898. *The Philosophy of the Infinite*, 1854, 3d ed. 1874; *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*, 1872; *Relations of Mind and Brain*, 1879; *The*

Relations of Science and Religion, 1881; *Evolution and Man's Place in Nature*, 1893.

William Angus Knight (1836–), Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews University from 1876 to 1892. *Colloquia Peripatetica, or Deep Sea Soundings*, 1870; *Studies in Philosophy and Literature*, 1879; *The Philosophy of the Beautiful, Its History and Its Theory*, 1893; *Aspects of Theism*, 1894; *The Christian Ethic*, 1894; editor of *Philosophical Classics for English Readers*, 15 vols., 1881–1889.

John Clark Murray (1836–), Professor of Philosophy at Queen's University, Canada, from 1862 to 1872; Frothingham Professor of Philosophy at McGill University, Montreal, from 1872 to 1903. *An Outline of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, 1870; *Handbook of Psychology*, 1885; *An Introduction to Ethics*, 1891.

Robert Flint (1838–), Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews University from 1864 to 1876; and of Divinity at Edinburgh University from 1876 to 1904. *The Philosophy of History in Europe*, 1874; *Theism*, 1879; *Historical Philosophy in France*, 1894; *Socialism*, 1894.

Thomas Davidson (1840–1904). *Rosmini's Philosophical System*, 1882; *Rosmini's Psychology*, 1882; *Aristotle and Ancient Educational Ideals*, 1892. A memoir of Davidson has recently been published by Prof. C. M. Bakewell of Yale, late of the University of California.

John Watson (1847–), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, since 1872. *Kant and His English Critics*, 1881; *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism*, 1882; *The Philosophy of Kant as Contained in Extracts from His Own Writings*, 1888; *Comte, Mill, and Spencer*, 1895.

Arthur James Balfour (1848–), Chancellor of Edinburgh University since 1891. *A Defence of Philosophic Doubt*, 1879.

William Leslie Davidson (1848–), Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Aberdeen University since 1895. *The Logic of Definition*, 1885; *Theism as Grounded in Human Nature*, 1893; *A Philosophy Centenary: Reid and Campbell*, 1896; *Christian Ethics*, 1899.

David George Ritchie (1853–1903), Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at St. Andrews University from 1894 to 1903. *Darwinism and Politics*, 1889; *Darwin and Hegel*, 1893; *Natural Rights*, 1895.

Walter Smith (1854–), Professor of Philosophy at Lake Forest College, 1888. *Methods of Knowledge*, 1899.

Andrew Seth Pringle Pattison (1856–), Professor of Logic and Philosophy at Cardiff College, Wales, from 1883 to 1887; of Logic and Metaphysics at St. Andrews University from 1887 to 1891; and of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh University since 1891. *The Development from Kant to Hegel*, 1882; *Essays in Philosophical Criticism* (in conjunction with R. B. Haldane), 1883; *Scottish Philosophy*, a first course of Balfour Lectures, 1889; *Hegelianism and Personality*, a second course of Balfour Lectures, 1887; *Man's Place in the Cosmos*, 1897.

Robert Mark Wenley (1861–), Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan since 1896; Associate Editor of the *Dictionary of Philosophy*. *Socrates and Christ*, 1839; *Aspects of Pessimism*, 1894; *Contemporary Theology and Theism*, 1897; *Introduction to Kant*, 1897; *Preparation for Christianity in the Ancient World*, 1898.

VI. HISTORIANS.

(A) General.

Among early historians of Scotland are John Fordun and Walter Bower. The *Scotichronicon* of Fordun was continued by Bower, abbot of Inchcolm, who died in 1449, and has been edited by Skene (Edinburgh, 2 vols., 1871–72). It is an indispensable basis for any treatment of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Hector Boece, the associate of Erasmus, and Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, wrote a *Scotorum Historiæ*, which appeared in 1527, the year after his death, and was translated into the vernacular immediately thereafter by Archdeacon Bellenden. A modern edition of Bellenden's work, edited by Maitland, came out in two volumes at Edinburgh, early in the century; and a riming version of the *Historiæ*, which had appeared in 1535, done by one William Stewart, was edited by Turnbull, and published at Edinburgh in 1858.

A much more serious work than either of the above was the *Historia Majoris Britannix* of John Major or Mair (1470–1550). His *History of Greater Britain, as well England as Scotland, compiled from the Ancient Authorities* was translated and edited by A. Constable (Edinburgh, 1892). The life of the author, which is prefixed, is by Prof. Æneas J. G. Mackay. The historian is noted for his advanced theological and political opinions; according to Professor Masson, he was “the first Scottish radical.” The editor treats Mair sympathetically, seeking to find the relation which the historian held to his own times and the times following.

In most instances, modern historians of Scotland have displayed keen literary sympathies. Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* long ranked as the best history of Scotland, and it is not likely ever to be wholly superseded. John Hill Burton, whose *History of Scotland from Agricola's Invasion to the Revolution of 1688* appeared between 1853 and 1867, was at once an antiquarian and a literary man. He has written also *The Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, 2 vols., 1846; *Lives of Simon, Lord Lovat, and Duncan Forbes of Culoden*, 1847; *Narrative of Criminal Trials in Scotland*, 1852; *The Scot Abroad*, 1864; *A History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, 1877. His *History of Scotland*, in 8 volumes, 1873, bringing the narrative down to the Rebellion of 1845, is regarded as an able, careful, and accurate work.

Between 1828 and 1843 appeared Patrick Fraser Tytler's *The History of Scotland from the Accession of Alexander III. to the Union*. His attempt to rehabilitate Mary, Queen of Scots, began a literature which shows no immediate signs of terminating. George Chalmers had written a *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, in 1822. Tytler was followed by Mignet's *Marie Stuart*, 1851; Cheruel's *Marie Stuart et Catharine de Médicis*, Paris, 1858; Wiesener's *Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothwell*, Paris, 1863; John Hosack's *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, 1869; Agnes Strickland's *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, 1873; Bekker's *Maria Stuart, Darnley, Bothwell*, Giessen, 1881; T. H. Henderson's *The Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots*, 2d ed., Edinburgh, 1890; H. Forst's *Maria Stuart und der Tod Darnley's*, Bonn, 1894; D. Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots from her Birth to her Flight into England*, 1st vol.,

London, 1897. Mr. Fleming, now Professor in the Free Church College, Edinburgh, belongs to the ultra-conservative Presbyterian school, but his true-blue orthodoxy does not warp his veracity as a historian. Later works are Rait's *Mary Queen of Scots in Scottish History from Contemporary Writings*, London, 1900; Andrew Lang's *The Mystery of Mary Stuart*, 2d ed., London, 1901; and Samuel Cowan's *Mary Queen of Scots, and Who Wrote the Casket Letters?* 2 vols., London, 1901. Mr. Cowan, who is editor of *The Perthshire Advertiser*, holds a brief for the Queen. The portraits in his vindication are excellent.

A "Historians of Scotland" series has been launched, to which Thomas Innes contributed a *History of Scotland, Civil and Ecclesiastical*, 1901.

Another theme prolific in discussion is the authorship of *The Kingis Quair*; was it written by James the First, or is it a later production? See Jusserand's *Le Roman d'un Roi d'Ecosse*, Paris, 1895; Rait's *The Kingis Quair and the New Criticism*, 1898. Robert Brown of Paisley has written impugning its authenticity; Professor Veitch, in his *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, takes the conservative side.

William Forbes Skene (1809-1892), successor of Hill Burton as Scottish Historiographer, 1881. *The Highlanders of Scotland*, 1837; editions of *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 1867, and of Fordun's *Cronica*, 1871; *The Family of Skene of Skene*, 1887.

Two volumes have appeared of Hume Brown's judicious *History of Scotland*, in the Cambridge series, bringing the narrative down to the reign of James VII. and the Revolution settlement. The author, who is Professor of History at Edinburgh University, has edited Buchanan's *Works in Scots*, and has published special studies of George Buchanan and John Knox.

Andrew Lang's three portly volumes, *A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation*, just completed, are a distinct contribution to literature, combining research and accurate scholarship with literary charm. His hero is the Marquis of Montrose, a choice which reveals his Cavalier leanings; and he is in the opposite camp from Mr. Hay Fleming. He has also written *The Gowrie Conspiracy*, *Prince Charles Edward*, a

luminous study, and *The Companions of Pickle the Spy*. His recent biography of Knox has excited considerable antagonism.

Other notable works are: William Wallace's *The Scotland of Yesterday*, 1896; Craik's *A Century of Scottish History*, 1901; Hume Brown's *Scotland Before 1700 from Contemporary Documents*, 1903; Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 1891; John Mackintosh's *History of Civilization in Scotland*, 4 vols., Aberdeen, 1878-1888; Robert Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1858; Charles Rogers's *Social Life in Scotland from Early to Recent Times*, 3 vols., 1884-1886; John Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland from the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Century*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1859; George Grub's *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, 4 vols., 1861; Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, translated by Hunter Blair, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1887-1890; Stephen's *History of the Scottish Church*, 2 vols., 1894-1896; R. S. Rait's *Outline of the Relations Between England and Scotland from 500 to 1707 A. D.*, London, 1901, and his *The Scottish Parliament Before the Union of the Crowns*, London, 1901; Th. A. Fischer's *The Scots in Germany*, Edinburgh, 1902.

George Grub belonged to a group of young men in the thirties who inherited strong Episcopalian and nonjuring traditions, which lingered in the Northeast. Along with John Hill Burton, whose historical productions have been noticed, Joseph Robertson and John Stuart, he was efficient in making the Spalding Club favorably known. Robertson and he edited for it Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs*, 3 vols., 1853.

(B) Local.

Local histories, of a high literary standing, have been numerous. George Chalmers's *Caledonia, 1821* (reprinted in 1887-94, 7 vols., 4to, Alex. Gardner, Paisley) takes up Scotland by counties, and is a work of scholarship and erudition. Sir William Fraser's *The Annandale Family Book of the Johnstones*, and other works, brought this style of writing to perfection, and made a fortune, out of which he founded the chair of Ancient History and Archæology at Edinburgh University,

now held by P. Hume Brown. The father of the school was Dr. Thomas Thomson (1768-1852).

Other volumes are: Ramsay's *Ochertyre Papers*; Chalmers's *Dunfermline*; Sir Andrew Agnew's *The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*; Æneas J. G. Mackay's *Fifeshire*, an excellent work; and Paterson's *Ayrshire*. Dr. W. W. Metcalfe has recently completed an elaborate history of Renfrewshire. The great publishing house of Blackwood is bringing out a series of these county histories.

George Seton's *The Seton Family* was followed by Monsignor Seton's *The Setons of Scotland and America*, New York, 1899.

The *Lives of the Lindsays*, by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, is excellent.

The enterprising west-country firm of Alex. Gardner, Paisley, which published *The Scottish Review*, has sent out a number of parish histories written by university men. Among these are John Warwick's *Old Cumnock*; A. M. Fergusson's *Alex. Hume, the Poet-Pastor of Logie*; A. C. Cameron's *Fettercairn*; Murray's *Kilmacolm* (1100-1898).

W. S. Crockett's* *The Scott Country* (Macmillan, 1900) is a brilliant piece of literature of this kind. Scott's own *Lady of the Lake*, conspicuous among his writings, is a topographical compendium descriptive of Stirling and the Trosachs. In no country has topography been more closely allied to literature than in Scotland. *The Scott Country* has been followed by Dougall's *The Burns Country* (1903).

Some of the above histories have dealt with place-names, notably Sir Andrew Agnew's book on Galloway, which came out in 1892. Other works of more recent date pay particular attention to Celtic and other place-names. Such are: W. J. N. Liddall's *Place-Names in Fife and Kinross*, 1896; I. M. MacKinlay's *The Influence of the pre-Reformation Church on Scottish Place-Names*, 1904; W. J. Watson's *Place-Names in Ross and Cromarty*, 1904; and H. Cameron Gillies's *The Place-Names of Argyle*, David Nutt, London, 1906.

*Minister of Tweedsmuir, and a native of Berwickshire; not to be confounded with Crockett, the novelist, who is a Galloway man.

VII. SCOTTISH LITERARY HISTORY.

(A) Native.

Early in the nineteenth century (1804) a competent investigator, David Irving, gave us *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, followed in 1839 by *Lives of the Scottish Writers*. Before Irving there existed nothing but Dr. George Mackenzie's superficial *Lives and Characteristics of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*. Irving's works remain as authoritative.

In 1835 appeared Robert Chambers's *A Biographical Dictionary of Prominent Scotsmen*, followed in 1848 by his *Cyclopedia of English Literature*, in two large volumes, in which full attention is paid to Scottish writers. In both of these works he was assisted by Robert Carruthers, a Dumfriesshire man, educated at Edinburgh University, who became editor of *The Inverness Courier*, and gave that journal a leading place for its literary qualities. The *Cyclopedia of English Literature* was at once recognized as masterly in its treatment. A new edition, in three volumes, edited by David Patrick, LL.D., has recently appeared.

Professor Spalding, an Aberdeen University man, for five years Professor of Belles-Lettres at Edinburgh, and Professor of English Literature and Logic at St. Andrews University, published in 1853 his *History of English Literature*, in which he devotes adequate attention to Scottish literature.

In the year 1884 appeared a posthumous volume by Dr. J. M. Ross, entitled *Scottish History of Literature to the Period of the Reformation*. Dr. Ross was for many years one of the staff of the High School of Edinburgh, and planned and brought out the *Globe Encyclopedia*, since incorporated in *Chambers's*. In its execution he had the coöperation of competent scholars connected with Edinburgh University. His history is learned and able, and has for aim to trace the connection between Scottish literature and Scottish history. Beginning at the dawn of history, with the Scots and Picts, whom some scholars have considered a pre-Aryan people, he follows the development of the national life and literature in the Lowlands down to the time of John Knox. The literature is not treated from the linguistic side.

Another notable work is *The History of Scottish Poetry*, by

David Irving, LL.D. Edited by John Aitken Carlyle, M.D., with a memoir and glossary. Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh, 1861.

Principal J. Campbell Shairp published in 1877 his *Poetic Interpretation of Nature*; in 1881, *Aspects of Poetry*; and in 1887, *Sketches in History and Poetry*.

Professor John Veitch, of Glasgow, published in 1887 his *Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry*, and in 1893 a second edition (almost a new work) of his *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, which had appeared sixteen years before.

Professor John Nichol contributed to Sir D. Lindsay's *Minor Poems*, published by the Early English Text Society, a *Sketch of Scottish Poetry*, 1871.

G. Gregory Smith's *The Transition Period of European Literature* appeared in 1900.

The volumes of the "Famous Scots" Series, published by Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, of Edinburgh, are still appearing. They are handy but somewhat superficial biographies.

In Hugh Walker's *Three Centuries of Scottish Literature* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1895), nothing has been done to bring out the continuity of national literature. The two volumes are rather a series of studies, suitable for magazine purposes, and arbitrarily chosen. The lack of an index is much to be regretted.

H. G. Graham published in 1899 his *The Social Life of Scotland in the XVIIIth Century*, and three years later *Scottish Men of Letters in the XVIIIth Century*, both works of value.

Dr. John Mackintosh's *The History of Civilization in Scotland* (4 vols., Paisley, 1903) devotes chapters to a systematic treatment of the literature; but they are somewhat lacking in perspective. The work is a "monument of learning and patient patriotic industry."

The latest and most considerable contribution of a systematic kind to Scottish literary history is John Hepburn Millar's *The Literature of Scotland* (Scribner's, 1903). This portly volume is a companion to Barrett Wendell's *A Literary History of the United States* and Douglas Hyde's *A Literary History of Ireland*. Mr. Millar is the son of one Scottish Judge, Lord Craighill, and grandson of another more famous, Lord Neaves, himself a poet. He is therefore in the historic line of the best Edinburgh traditions which give us the main

current of Scottish literary production. Educated at Edinburgh Academy, and at Balliol College, Oxford, he is now lecturer on International Law at Edinburgh University. In the field covered by Edinburgh and her interests, he is strong, and there his biographic touches are incisive and informing. The founding of *The Edinburgh Review*, and its career with Francis Jeffrey as pilot for nearly thirty years—with his odious would-be-English accent, his French virtues and limitations, his devotion to the artistic, his crude sentimentality—are excellently told. Millar's three great Scotchmen are Hume, Burns, and Scott. He leaves out James Thomson, James Boswell, and Thomas Carlyle, the Sage of Chelsea, because he considers them essentially English in their appeal; but the excuse will only hold because his pages are limited to one volume. He is acquainted with Scottish publications like those of the Maitland, Bannatyne, New Spalding, and Spalding Clubs, and of the Spottiswoode, Woodrow, Scottish History, and Scottish Text Societies. With the publications of the great houses of Blackwood, Chambers, and other Edinburgh firms he is also well acquainted. Beginning his literary history with the lines on Alexander III.'s death, found in Wynthoun's *Cronykil*, he is in line with Courthope and the Oxford school. There is an intolerance of "viewy" problems of racial sources in literature; and the opening paragraph is flippant, where he talks of Goidhelic Celts, Brythonic Celts, Saxons, Angles, and Norsemen all working up in one "delicious gravy, as the author of the *Jolly Sandboys* would say." Celtic literature he explicitly ignores; the Celtic problem, so dear to Professor Veitch, has no attractions for him. To only *two* of the four elements in Scottish life and literature does he do justice: the hereditary-romantic, as represented by Scott and Lady Nairne, and the legal-philosophical-latitudinarian, as represented by the founders of *The Edinburgh Review*. He seems to know but little of the West Scots dialect, nor does he do justice to Glasgow, Paisley, and Strathclyde generally. With comparative literature he has but an amateur's acquaintance. Indeed, he himself complains of the absence of a literary class *per se* in Scotland and its capital; literary men drift to London, and literature remains amateurish. He shares with other members of the Scottish Text Society an

intense dislike of the "Kailyard" school, of Ian Maclaren, S. R. Crockett, and J. M. Barrie, and is wholly unsympathetic to the modern Evangelical school represented by Dr. George Adam Smith, and the late Professors Henry Drummond and Balmain Bruce. The account given of the founding and conduct of literary enterprises like *The Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's*, and the *Scots Observer* leaves nothing to be desired.

(B) Foreign Contributions.

For the greater part of the century Frenchmen fought shy of Scotland and its interests. And yet Sir Walter Scott's romances are not only popular in France, but have been so widely read in translations as to become classics, and in out-of-the-way French towns a volume of Scott in French can always be bought. Michel and others have made some contributions to Scottish history.

M. Jusserand, now French minister at Washington, has published some highly interesting works: *Jacques Premier d'Ecosse Fut-il Poète?*; *Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais des origines à la renaissance*, etc., etc.

In 1893 appeared Angellier's *Robert Burns, Sa Vie et Ses Ouvrages* (2 vols. Hachette, Paris).

Professor Schipper of Vienna has produced an admirable edition of the works of William Dunbar (1892-94).

Horstmann's edition of Barbour's *Legend of the Saints* appeared at Heilbronn in 1885.

Dr. Hans Hecht of Berlin, now at Balliol College, Oxford, is at work on Herd's *Remains*. This is in the sphere of ballad poetry.

At Halle, in 1893, appeared Tundale, *das mitttelenglische gedicht über die Vision des Tundalus*; written in northern English.

A companion to Fischer's *The Scots in Germany* is Francisque Michel's *Les Ecosais en France et les Français en Ecosse*. (2 vols. Trübner & Co., London, 1862.)

VIII. CELTIC LITERATURE IN SCOTLAND.

While Celtic literature was active in the first decade of the nineteenth century, what is known as the Celtic movement did not begin till the second half. In the year 1856, William Sharp, a Glasgow man who became active in London literary circles, appeared as its apostle. In 1882 Donald Mackinnon was appointed Professor of Celtic Languages at Edinburgh University.

The following are notable works:

Wm. Sharp's *Lyra Celtica*. London, 1856. (His *Ossian*, 1896, is the handiest edition of the poet.)

The Dean of Lismore's Book, a selection of ancient Gaelic poetry. Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh, 1862.

J. F. Campbell's *Leabhar na Feinne*. This is an account of the Dean of Lismore's successors. 1872.

Skene's *Celtic Scotland*. Edinburgh, 1876-80. The author gives material for discussing the Scottish origin of the Merlin myths, insisted upon by Professor Veitch. He has also written *The Highlanders of Scotland*, 1837; *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 1868; and the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 1868.

Gaelic Bards from 1411 to 1715. Edited by Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair. This forms a volume in *The Glenbard Collection of Gaelic Poetry*, 1890.

Villemarqué's *Myrdhinn ou l'Enchanteur Merlin, son histoire, ses œuvres, son influence*.

Ultonian Hero-Ballads. Edited by Hector MacLean. Glasgow, 1892.

Culture in Early Scotland. Edited by D. Mackinnon. Williams & Norgate, London, 1892. Professor Mackinnon uses the facts of archæology to interpret the social conditions of the people up to the eighth century.

J. F. Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*. (Reprint.) 4 vols. Alex. Gardner, Paisley, 1893.

McTaggart's *Mackinnon and the Bards of the West Highlands*. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1898.

J. F. Campbell's *The Fians. West Highland Traditions of Finn McCumhail*. D. Nutt, London, 1898.

D'Arbois de Jubainville's *La Civilization des Celts et celle*

